1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 643 Ifalik

"The chiefs do indeed constitute a group, continuous though not always in session. The bonds that unite it are common rank, a common part-time occupation, and, as a rule though not necessarily, male sex and rather advanced age. Their rank seems to be the most prominent characteristic in native thought. Their common occupation, that of governing, involves a relationship to all the rest of the people. Further discussion of this activity makes up the chapter on government."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 643, 611 Ifalik

"The statement of succession to chieftainship given me by the chiefs included a son as possible successor, though after brothers and sisters' sons. I found no case of such patrilineal succession. But then, the people keep so little of the past in memory that very few cases of succession were available. The very fact that the chiefs agreed on it as a possibility shows something of the importance attached to the father's line."

1: Burrows--105-106 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 427, 643 Ifalik

"In distributing a large catch, the chiefs are allotted some fish in their capacity as chiefs, in addition to what they may receive as senior members of households. But this seems to be tribute--a prerogative of rank, or token of respect for rank. To regard it as rental for use of the seines would be incongruous with the general pattern governing disposal of property. On this point, I have no statement from a native, one way or the other. Such a statement, if obtainable, would have little value. It is doubtful whether any of them could be made to understand the concept of rent, without going abroad and having experience of its operation. Tom, in his six years of residence in [106] Manila, has undoubtedly done that. But he has thereby become less trustworthy as an informant on how the natives think of their disposal of property, --except where a statement of his fits native behavior but would be incompatible with our own. The best procedure seemed to be to observe native behavior closely; to ask few questions, and these preferably of the chiefs or others less familiar with foreign ways than Tom; to try to make these inevitable questions as simple and comprehensible as possible; and to interpret these data according to the simplest and most consistent scheme that would account for what the people do. Such a scheme unquestionably requires some notion of reciprocity; but our notion of rent would not fit without broadening its meaning almost beyond recognition."

1: Burrows-107 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 423, 643 Ifalik

"The two southernmost canoe-houses on Falārik island, Fan ni Wong and Pa'ugop, were not in daily use for light work and loafing, like all the others. Pa'ugop, on the channel between the two islands, was indeed busy and populous on special occasions, as when the population of Falārik island was crossing to Falālap for a religious ceremony. At least twice during our stay feasts were held beside this house; once to celebrate the conclusion of a thatching job, once--as I recall it--to partake of an especially good haul of fish which Rauau and Falālap men both had a hand in catching. But on ordinary days it was deserted, or nearly so. More frequently occupied was a small building beside it which served as a workshop, especially for the women of the nearest household, that of chief Toromānn. The next canoe-house to the north, Fan ni Wong, was still less used. Most of the time there was no-one in it, and I never saw more than one or two there except when the men of the adjacent household, Uelepī, gathered there for some common task.

These two canoe-houses adjoined, on opposite sides, the homestead Uelepī, which as the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of the clan Kovalū was the highest-ranking dwelling site on the atoll, and was tabu to outsiders. The butchering of turtle, reserved to Kovalū, was done in a little grove between Uelepī and Fan ni Wong, but nearer to the canoe-house than the dwellings. The question arises whether the aura of rank and sanctity from Uelepī extended to the two canoe-houses, and made men feel less free to use them. This is possible; but in telling us of the tabu on Uelepī, Tom

said nothing of its extending to the canoe-houses. The nominal 'owner' of Fan ni Wong was WolpaitIk, a chief but not of Kovalū clan. (He lived at Uelepī by virtue of marriage to a Kovalū woman.) The owner of Pa'ugop was Wolpetau, highest ranking chief, of Kovalū clan and Uelepī lineage. But this site, though not the canoe-house itself, was most frequented by the household of the lesser chief Toromānn, of Rapevelū clan. On the whole, it seems most likely that the reason for these canoe-houses being less frequented than the others was simply that there were few dwellings nearby. In addition, Fan ni Wong was off the main road; and, because currents had been building a sandy point to seaward of it, was farther from water than any other canoe-house."

1: Burrows--107-108
116, 423, 501, 643

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Canoes have individual owners. The degree of exclusiveness in their use varies inversely with the size of the canoe. That is, the little rosemani are commonly used rather like private property by the owner and his family for [108] transportation and small-scale fishing. Members of other households do not take out these small canoes without permission. But a larger paddling canoe, still more a sailing canoe, is used most often for fishing by larger parties, usually a district undertaking. Since the owners are usually men of some age, while the fishing is done most often by the youths, the owner of a canoe often does not go out with it on a fishing trip. He has no special claim to the catches made in his canoe. If the chiefs ask his permission to have it taken out, this is more an assignment than a request. He would have difficulty in justifying a refusal, unless the canoe was unseaworthy. In that case it would be his duty to see that it was repaired.

Canoes for sea-burial are similarly assigned. Tom seemed proud to have his new canoe used for the burial of the chief Paliuilimar, who died soon after it was completed. It was kept in the canoe-house nearest the chief's residence; but was not the only sailing canoe there. The reason Tom gave for using it was 'because it is the biggest.' Both the dead chief and the owner of the canoe were honored. An owner would not undertake an interisland voyage in his canoe without permission of the chiefs, and would take passengers without expecting payment. In sum, the owner of a large canoe, as of a

canoe-house and most other property, is in effect more a custodian than an owner as we think of ownership. Large canoes, like canoe-houses, come very near being public property."

(1947-48)

"Asked whether there is such a thing as clan property, Tom said there is. The reef and the lagoon, he declared, belong to his clan, SauvelārIk. Members of other clans fish there only on sufferance. Now Tom was always inclined to make the most of any claim to distinction in which he could share, whether the distinction was his own exclusively, or that of his clan, or that of Ifalik as against other islands. I asked him whether other clans had similar claims. He was not sure, and, as usual, referred the question to the chiefs. The first to hand were Maroligar and Toroman. They talked it over, but did not give me an answer. 'Some other chief', Tom explained, 'might say 'This chief, 'e lie'.'

All five chiefs then held a meeting and discussed the question long and vehemently. Then they issued, through Tom, an official answer. No clan, neither SauvelārIk or any other, they declared, has exclusive claim to the use of reef and lagoon. They belong to all the chiefs. Ordinarily it is all right for anyone to use them; but if there is a shortage, as during the time after a hurricane, the chiefs may say 'Only eat a little'; in other words, may ration what food there is.*

"* As this decision was an act of the government, it will be discussed again from that point of view."

This pronouncement did not dispose of the question of clan property other than the reef and lagoon. It was not until later that I learned of the exclusive right of Kovalū clan to turtle, and of SauvelārIk to yellow-fin tuna. These were the only cases found of exclusive claims to property on the part of clans. Actually, these are not instances of ownership in the ordinary sense, but prerogatives of rank; for these two clans hold the highest chiefly titles."

"Tom added that it would be all right for us, since we were foreigners and had no trees of our own, to take nuts from other people's trees. But in practise the chiefs, as our hosts, kept us in drinking nuts, getting them from their own trees. Usually that meant from trees on land belonging to their lineage; but some nuts were given us from trees on Katēlū, nominally chiefs' property. And at least once we were regaled from a tree owned in the other way. After a stint of census-taking, I asked for a nut to drink. Wolpetau, who was with us during the first part of the census, assumed the obligation to provide drinking nuts for the two of us, because of his rank. (If he had not been present, the head of the household would have had them brought to us.) Wolpetau directed a boy to a particular tree near by, which belonged to him. [111]

In discussing this, Tom said there were other men who owned more trees than Wolpetau. Could Wolpetau, as highest-ranking chief, commandeer nuts or trees belong to another? Yes, Tom answered; if Wolpetau wanted some, 'no can keep 'im.' When the same question came up in another connection, though, Tom denied any such right. Pretty surely the question is 'academic'. Though such a right would often be accorded a chief in discussing the extent of his authority, a chief would never think of exercising it, unless perhaps, in an emergency, for public use."

The chiefs are universally respected; when they enter, they are offered seats; children disappear into the corners of the huts, and are not seen.

The chief has a general superintendance over the islands of the atoll; he gives orders for public works, for instance the construction of the men's houses, and large fishing expeditions; then he also lays out the day's occupations; that is, he tells some men to work with the coconut palms, while others are supposed to cultivate the taro fields, etc. He gives these orders in the men's house. People also have to get his permission to construct large boats; this is not required for the smaller ones, or for the building of houses.

2: Damm et al. --79 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 643, 651 Ifaluk

The chiefs have certain specific excises. The head chief can claim a part of the yield of the fields and fruit trees for himself. He receives 1/5 of the catch of every fishing expedition, that one of his subordinates has undertaken, while the under chief gets 1/2 to 3/4 of what is handed over to the head chief. If the fisherman has not taken very much, the minor chiefs have much less, or nothing at all. In this case, the fisherman just gives a share to the tamōl igidigit, whom he meets in the men's house immediately upon his return. The chief divides the booty from the common fishing expeditions among all the houses of the atoll (and not among the men); he and the other chiefs renounce their claims all together, or they may take one fish from the ones that are due to a house. If the catch is small, he takes a half, or even less of what a house is supposed to give him.

2: Damm et al. --79 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 643 Ifaluk

A chieftain's successor is his eldest son, or it may be the son of the brother or the sister of the deceased. In the succession the sister's son always has precedence over the son of the brother. If the family of the high chief is nearly extinct, he names his successor before his death; and he also names a guardian to act as regent for a successor, who is a minor.

2: Damm et al. --79 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 643 Ifaluk

A native of Yap, Mŏdj, is said to have been the first high chief; and he settled on Falalap in legendary times. Several of his children then went to Feladjik. . . . Mŏdj had two sons; the elder became the high chief, and the younger the lesser chief. The natives say that this is the origin of the great and the minor chiefs. In addition to these two important chiefs, (tamŏl solŏb), there are also two chiefs of a lower rank (tamŏl igidigit), who also come from the chief's family, and live in Lawuau; they are the men, who execute the commands of the chief, and give his orders to the people. Their position is reminiscent of that of the pŭlepŭle and kōkŏa of Luangiua and Nukumanu, who also belonged to the ruling families.

The names of the high chiefs were:

1. Mŏdj
2. Ällofăs [80]
3. Dădar
4. Aŭăp
5. Maĭliăs
6. Moürai
7. Soral
8. Gŏrigar; he is supposed to have lived at the time of the first great typhoon.
9. Modurŏk
10. Jalorăk
11. Gawurŏk
12. Malüdjŏm
13. Idălŭb; he lived at the time of the third typhoon.
14. Ärüllümăn
15. Dibădău; he lived at the time of the fourth typhoon.
16. Soligŏu
17. Gilălobăk
18. Olaĭdiŭ, he lived at the time of the fifth typhoon (1907) and disappeared on the trip

to Lamutrik.

19. Daoreligăr was head chief of the island group at the time of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition (1909); the second chief was Sairū, lesser chiefs were Duwăliŏr and Älewūdj.

2: Damm et al. --81 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 692, 643 Ifaluk

The chief is always the judge, and the court is the men's house.

2: Damm et al. --82 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 684, 643 Ifaluk

The chief does not intervene in a case of adultery. If the guilty man wants the woman, the husband surrenders her, but at a high price (large canoes, loin aprons, chests, etc.) If the culprit does not wish to take her, he does not pay so much; for example, a small canoe, or a large chest. In any case, the husband leaves his wife. If she has any children, the penalty is larger. The children go into the husband's house, but they are permitted to visit their mother.

2: Damm et al. --191 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 643 Faraulep

The rank of high chief is hereditary, and it is traced back to the first settlers. The first tamol was on Ead, and in olden days there was one on Faraulip and on Pix. The high chief takes charge of the "big" house, orders men to start the community enterprises, keeps an eye on the soil and the fishing, acts as a judge, and watches over the peace in his village. If anyone refuses obedience, he is deprived of his field. If the high chief dies, his brothers inherit the title according to age, and it is only then that the sons of the deceased become chief. Women can never rule, and if there are no direct male successors, the male children of the high chief's family take the office.

Should the high chief be a minor, the poirím acts as regent until the child is adolescent. In case of his death, the poirím no. 2 takes his place, in case there are no sons of the first poirím. In the event of the decease of the young chief, the first poirím becomes high chief.

The lesser chiefs are the spokesmen; they transmit the commands of the high chief, and see to it that they are executed.

The large fishing expeditions are arranged, work is discussed and justice promulgated in the assemblies (xopái), which take place in the "big" house.

4: Krämer--29
116, 175, 643

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

Hambruch lists 9 chiefs (pimóon tamŏl) for Elato. It has been impossible to establish how far the ninth of the series dated back.

4: Krämer--29
116, 175, 643

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1-2
Lamotrek

List of chiefs

Lámotrek

1. Súkurang...
2. Angareisuk "the hair of Sukurang made curly by extensive fishing"
3. Teliméra or Itelimé́ra...
4. Uamop
5. Gogoiaim

Elato (Hambruch)

1. Mailipue 1909
2. Fetal e tauuo
3. Lŏngarăle
4. Mangiléi
5. Laremāt
6. Molīt
7. Laliigŭr
8. Ilematĭp [MR: Hambruch learned that he was chief at the time of the voyage of the "Duff" and the landing of the Swede Cornelius in 1797]
9. Feiemelau* or Oroéihau

* At this time the first whites are said to have come (probably 1797 on the "Duff")

4: Krämer--29 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 175, 643 Lamotrek

Lamotrek: Since the first three of the chiefs are brothers we are dealing only with approximately three generations and no more than 100 years. Nothing more was reported than that in the past the chiefs had been very powerful, which is quite in line with the information by Clain [4: Kramer 5-9, p. 5] It is possible that at the time of Lütke Gogoiaim was in office. Cantova mentions Mattuson as head chief in 1722.

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643, 428 Elato

In the case of the chief his brother is the heir, then follow his nephews, and the sons of the sisters. His own son does not have any power. The brothers claim the inheritance according to age.

4: Krämer--115 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643 Lamotrek

The Chief, tamol.

Cantova, on page 312, talks about the tamol, the different positions of sitting on the throne, approaches with stooped walk, foot and hand kiss, and long beards....

The list of chiefs...is not long, which means that traditional information in this respect is limited. In daily life the offices of the chief and his powers do not play an important part. For instance, the chiefs do not receive a larger share of food than anyone else. Nevertheless they are held in respect. One form of respect is the custom of not setting sail, mótog, on the bank, but of paddling on until the canoe is clear of the shoal. A report of Father Clain of the year 1697, shows that they may exert considerable power, especially during war time, and that Lamotrek at the time was considered the ruler of the Carolines (probably only of the central parts from Murilo to Feis.) Thus it is likely that in early times a kingdom was established in this region.

The chief calls the islanders to assemblies. When they are called, the natives come in rank and file arranged according to age and position. They carry baskets under their right arm and the left hand grasps the back of the right. Thus they move along in a slow procession.

4: Krämer--115-116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643 Lamotrek

The head chief gives orders for general work to be done: clearing of the bush, work on the palm trees, in the taro fields, the construction of houses and canoes, fishing, etc. The assistant chief is the speaker who transmits the orders, fadjóual, of the head chief to the people. The third chief passes on the orders of the [116] second and supervises their execution. Occasionally the men hold council, fagilili e tö and discuss the affairs of the present. Succession is handled in the same manner as on Faraulip. If the family of the first chief dies out, the second moves up to the place of the first. The third chief remains the third chief and a new second tamol is chosen from the family of the second.

4: Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643, 766 Lamotrek

The importance of the chiefs is expressed by the taboos declared upon their death, which are called tap, and the most important of which is the bai (bei); the bailimas is the taboo imposed on the land in the possession of the deceased which is extremely indicated by the fastening of coconut fronds....

4: Krämer--183 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643, 621 Woleai

Nevertheless [VMM: although there are no obvious boundaries between villages] such a division exists, since every island has two or three small villages which are under the control of different chiefs. The highest in control is the chief in Gatschbar on Jap.

4: Krämer--269 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643 Woleai

Chief, tamol.

According to Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol III, page 134, the brothers of the chief are first in the line of succession and after them follow the sons of the firstborn.

4: Krämer--271 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502, 643 Woleai

Navigation

When a chief wishes to go on a voyage, for instance to Feis, he tells his people to get a boat ready. He himself, before setting out on his voyage, uŏfalŭ, spends a month in the fai'lap, which women may not enter. Here he also spends five months upon his return from his first voyage, one month after his second voyage and half a month after the third; after the fourth this period of time has been cut down to five days. No seclusion is necessary after additional voyages. In outside places no taboos are observed. This rule does not apply to fishermen.

5: Kittlitz--157 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 609, 643 Woleai

Ulemarai was the home of Kadú [MR: mentioned by Chamisso]; when he left the island, Rouá was considered the chief of the whole group, and he was still living although he had become a very feeble old man. When Lieutenant Sawalischin took the launch to survey the western part of the island, the Captain gave him some presents for the aged chief, and shortly before our departure he came to thank us for them....

6: Senfft--56
116, 643, 651

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

In the Oleai atoll, each island has its own chieftain. The head chief of Lamutrik also has jurisdiction over the two neighboring atolls, Elato and Lamrior, and claims possession of the uninhabited islands of Olimarau, Pikela, Pikelot, Toas, and West Faju. The office of the chieftain is passed on, not to the chieftain's son, but to the oldest son of the brother nearest the chieftain in age, or, if there is no brother, to the oldest son of the sister. It is said that the chieftains formerly exercised great authority; today their power is rapidly disappearing. They are nothing more than village mayors and have no means of enforcing their authority other than that of tying the accused to a tree for a short time or of destroying his house or his canoe. A native of Yap is the head chief and has the supreme authority; this is always the man who is the head chief of the district of Gatschbar. He, too, has no actual means of enforcing his authority; but the natives believe that all who do not obey his orders must die. On what basis this power rests is not clear; neither the present head chief nor his aged father were able to give me any information about it. Their authority extends even further than this atoll and includes those Carolinians who live in the Marianas.

The only outer symbol of this dependence is that the subjects of this head chief come to Yap at least once every two years to give proof of their devotion. They bring tributary payments which consist of mats, Chama shells, or necklaces made of these shells. They remain on the island for several months and are received hospitably. When they depart they are given the valuable pulverized curcuma (reng).

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 625, 643 Woleai

In the first place I stationed two reliable policemen at the island who can in case of emergency ask three former soldiers living now on the island, for help and who received the order to prevent the drinking of toddy [MR: which he considered a cause of dysentery] and to use force if necessary. The chiefs cannot be relied upon in this respect. Their authority is limited by many considerations and is not greater than that of our village magistrates. There is no chief over the whole group of islands and the above mentioned Follebu in Yap is also the ruler over Oleai.

12; Lutke--141-142 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 574, 643 Woleai

Towards evening we received a call from the big chief of the whole group, Rooua, who is described in the Memoires of Mr. Chamisso. I had told Lieutenant Zavalichine that when he was surveying the eastern part of the group he should call at Rooua's residence, Oulemarai, and should present gifts and pay him homage. They had had a good deal of trouble in making the old man understand who was responsible for all these fine things, and by what fortunate chance they should descend upon him in this way; but as soon as he understood the situation, he insisted on coming to see us himself; [142] and he quite forgot that paralysis had deprived him of the use both of his arms and legs. I should have liked to receive this feeble old man, who could scarcely breathe; but he almost fell in the water and it took him a long time to recover. So the conference had to take place on his canoe. I gave him and his wife, who was slightly younger than he, everything that I could think of. The tamols on the sloop said that I could have him lifted and brought on board on a chair, but I thought that it would be dangerous to expose the old man to this ordeal, and we separated after paying him all due honor on his territory.

12: Lutke--145
116, 764, 643

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The tombs of the chiefs are exactly like those of the Lukunor people; but some of them are much larger. On one of them I saw a canoe lying diagonally with its keel on top.

12: Lutke--344
116, 175, 643

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The most important chief [AN: of the Caroline Islands], the one of the Ouleaï group is not nearly as significant a personage as Doctor Chamisso depicted him in his Memoires.

"Viewing the system from the outside, rather than from the inside, or native perspective, it is of importance to note another, sociological contribution, made by this international organization, and that is the maintenance of peace. The possibility of the existence of inter-island war is, of course, an entirely speculative point, though tradition tells us of a number of wars in the past. The facts are, however, that there have been no inter-tribal wars in historical times, and it is not unfair to assume that the mutual subservience of islands to Yap has been a major factor in this history of pacifism, for the Yap chiefs consider all the islands as their own people, and intertribal war would be considered civil war, or treason, by them. And though Gagil might not be able to enforce its demands by physical might, its prestige is great enough so that its expressed disapproval would be sufficient, in most cases, to enforce its will.

That this role of benevolent paternalism is felt quite consciously by the Yap chiefs is indicated by my meeting with Foneg, the paramount chief on Gagil. While waiting on Ifaluk for our ship to embark, Foneg, who had accompanied the ship, approached me, and after exchanging the usual amenities, he said that he hoped that the people on Ifaluk had been friendly and cooperative, and he thanked me for having lived with 'my people.'

This hegemony of Gagil presents an interesting psychological problem, which I can only pose at this point, without attempting to offer an answer. The Ifalukians, of course,

accept Gagil's hegemony as part of the natural scheme of things, no one having ever questioned either its necessity or its desirability. Tribute is offered to a people that is different in language--the two languages are mutually unintelligible--and different, to a considerable extent, in culture. Furthermore, the people's attitude towards Gagil is not one of abject humility. On the contrary, the Ifalukians criticise the Yapese for their uncleanliness and their immorality. The Yapese, say the people, 'stink too much', and they 'talk lie'. Nevertheless they continue to pay their tribute, though they could successfully throw off this yoke."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Ted, of course, was in charge of the census operation. Tom acted as interpreter. Fagolier, the paramount chief, and Maroligar, the number two chief, went along, giving the highest possible official sanction to the procedure. The party also included a young man named Bakalimar—shortened to Bakal for ordinary purposes—who had been assigned by the chiefs to work with us, acting as general handyman and, most importantly, as dishwasher. (We did our own cooking; or, perhaps more accurately, our own can-opening.)

We were also accompanied by Tony. Tony was from the atoll of Ulithi, some 375 miles northwest of Ifaluk. He was a young man of perhaps eighteen, and had come to Ifaluk with his younger brother on the trade ship, some months before our arrival, to visit relatives. The Coast Guard had a station on Ulithi, where Tony had worked, and where he had learned fluent English. He was of no use as an interpreter in the census operation, however, because of his lack of familiarity with the Ifaluk household and clan arrangements, and because his youth made the questioning seem almost impertinent. The job required the maturity, dignity and local knowledge possessed by Tom. Tony's name, Antonio, was official, because Ulithi had been converted by a Roman Catholic Mission some years earlier—a process that included the adoption of Christian names.

The houses of Ifaluk were all on the two largest islets of the atoll, Falalap and Falarik, which were separated by a shallow and rather narrow pass. The Fan Nap, near the southern end of Falarik, was roughly in the center of the inhabited area. We started the census with the southernmost houses of Falalap, with the idea of working gradually northward until the count, household by household, was finished.

Three households—twenty-six people—were catalogued that first morning. Tom and Ted would lead the way into a household area, going inside if it was drizzling, or sitting on mats in the open during dry intervals. The available people of the household would gather about—and the available people included all of the men, all of the children except those who got scared at the strange activity and ran away, and all of the women except those under temporary quarantine in a menstrual hut.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

590 844 until it is able to walk, but the adopting mother shares the care and affections from the beginning; and when the baby is able to walk, it moves officially into the household of the adopting parents.

593 599 The child thus really acquires an extra set of parents, since it continues all through life to have close association with its real parents as well as with its adopting parents. The child acquires extra sets of "brothers" and "sisters" as well. Don found some difficulty with the word "brother" in teaching English since, while the Ifalukians all knew who were blood brothers and who were not, the matter seemed of little importance to them.

Our friend Yani, for instance, and his wife, Letaweriur, had three children. His oldest had been adopted into his mother's household, Soumat, and his next into his father's household (since his father was a re-married widower with no children by the second wife). Only the youngest had he kept to himself. Yet Yani was with all of his children every day. In this case, Yani and his wife, although they officially belonged in her household, Falepenach, spent most of their time in the Soumat household, since it was less crowded. This sort of casualness gave us a great deal of trouble with that census.

126 133 489 But this is straying from the problem of trying to get the Falarik trails down on the base map. With the broad highway and the canoe houses as fixed points of reference, we started to map the principal trails across the island. Falarik was a crescent, following the curve of the circular atoll reef; it was a little over a mile long, with an average width of about 300 yards. There were a dozen or so trails across the island from the inhabited, lagoon side, to the outer, ocean side.

The first of these, taking off from the canoe house beside the Fan Nap, began as a "highway" rather than a "trail." Like the broad highway, it was a wide, straight path, marked on both sides by lines of moss-covered coral rocks. On the left side of this trail was the dense vegetation of Katelu, the sacred site of the ancient Men's House which [178] was in use in the time of Maur, the island's "culture hero." This sacred spot was never entered by anyone except Maroligar, who was its official custodian. As a result, it was a wild tangle of natural vegetation. At one point on the path by Katelu was a large, fresh-water pool in [43] which Fagolier, the paramount chief, sometimes bathed. On the right

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LEFT Yaniseman, constant companion and advisor.

RIGHT Totogoeiti (Tom), navigator and interpreter.

BELOW Fagolier, the paramount chief, and Gavileiset, craftsman and canoe builder.

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CHAPTER V

MOSTLY ABOUT FOOD

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Much time on Ifaluk was spent in sitting—men sitting around the canoe houses, women sitting around the cook houses. I had the impression that the men were more apt to just sit, and the women to sit and chatter; but this impression was probably a carry-over from preconceived ideas about my own culture. Certainly, in fact, the men in the canoe houses often carried on interminable conversations; but certainly also they were frequently silent and contemplative—or drowsy.

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This fitted my temperament fine. Since childhood I have been an inveterate sitter (and day dreamer). My most frequent companion in the sitting process on Ifaluk was Fagolier, the paramount chief. From the beginning he fascinated me with his poise and dignity, his character-lined face. I had a curious feeling of rapport sitting with him, sharing a mat or a coconut log, smoking, occasionally exchanging a grin, but feeling no real need of trying to say anything.

He had all of the qualities that should go with the paramount chieftainship—the assurance and humility of security; a calm, reliable decisiveness; an ever-present courtesy and thoughtfulness. I wondered often what he was really like, how much this picture of him was the product of my own imaginings, whether I saw him as he was, or whether I saw only the projection of my own concepts of a chief. Yet I gained confidence in my mental portrait because it always seemed to correspond with my observations. Then I would still wonder whether this was a tribute to Fagolier, or a tribute to the flexibility of my

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imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence.

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen.

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load.

He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained.

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did.

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,

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123 but I was glad I tried because it gave me a direct experience with
535 Fagolier as dance director. He squatted by the fire and the line of
643 men formed opposite him against the dark backdrop of the coconut grove. To get some glimmering of what to do, I had to watch both Fagolier and the men in the line beside me, and I gradually got the feel of the situation. The dance involved a series of gestures with both hands, and of vocal sounds that varied from hums to shouts but that did not seem to form word patterns. Fagolier directed this with a remarkable economy of gesture, the indications of his hands being translated into full scale action by the men opposite. He was acting as leader and coordinator—again quietly, skillfully and economically.

121 These thoughts about Fagolier were precipitated the morning that Don started his food study of the Falepenach household. Don was resolved to be as exact about this as possible. It is very difficult to get precise figures on what people eat under any circumstances (think of the problem of measuring everything scraped off the plate into the garbage can, or of finding out whether Johnny got into the cookie jar this morning, and how many cookies he snitched). But, Don reasoned, the greater effort you made to be precise, the nearer you were likely to come to truth in your measurements. So, with the complete and invaluable assistance of Yani, he started out to measure everything eaten in Yani's household, Falepenach, for a month.

125 It developed at once that I was about as helpful as a sore thumb
[262] in this process. That first morning Don and Yani weighed all of the breadfruit and all of the coconuts brought in for the day's use. Then, to get a measure of the difference between crude and finished product, they waited around while the breadfruit and coconut were being prepared for cooking. Clearly I wasn't needed for either the weighing or waiting processes, so I drifted off to sit down by Fagolier and contemplate the horizon. Don, in the meanwhile, found (among other things) that twenty husked, ripe coconuts, weighing 27 lbs. 5 oz. produced 11 lbs. 13 oz. of copra ready for use in that day's cooking operations in Falepenach.

121 We had been talking about the problems of the food study from the
262 beginning. A careful study of what people ate, how much, how they got it, how it served them nutritionally, was clearly basic to any at-